

LEFT BEHIND, LEFT OUT

**The Impact on Children and Families of
Mothers Migrating for Work Abroad**



Research Findings and Policy Challenges

1. Introduction

"The absence of our mother makes me sad, lonely. But she went abroad to earn money for our wellbeing" (16 year old boy)

Migration can be understood as women's (and men's) solution to the plight of family poverty and unemployment. Often, women migrate in order to provide their children with a better future. However, despite the economic bonus that migration is seen to provide, the psychosocial costs are large and could violate a child's right to development, survival and education. These children are also often "left out" of social policy planning.

Of 858,000 migrants for the year 2000, 590,420 were women¹ mostly out on low-skilled or semi-skilled work. Of these women, around 75% are married², with around 90% of them having children³. Save the Children's motivation for the research study *Left Behind, Left Out* rested on the potentially significant number of children that could be affected by this phenomenon (up to one million on a rough estimate) and the negative impacts of migration on children suggested by previous research on the subject.

Remittances from Middle East employment (where most of these women are) brought in 61% of total remittances and 22% of total foreign exchange earned during 2002⁴. The Sri Lankan State has the legal and moral obligation to ensure the welfare of children of migrants. Yet the study indicates how policymakers are not adequately addressing problems of these migrant families.

Save the Children wishes to stress that a study on the absence of mothers and their impact on children's lives, should, in no way, promote restrictive migration policies for women. Instead, while acknowledging women's rights to choice of employment, and a right to migration, the impact on children left behind should be considered more deeply at a policy level.

2. Objectives

The specific objectives of the study *Left Behind, Left Out* included developing a profile of migrant mothers and their families, establishing the effects on the children and husbands of women who migrate abroad to work as housemaids, and examining the extent to which the effects are problematic.

3. Conceptual Framework

The framework for the study was based on previous research concepts and elements that were considered important in ensuring a child's right to development, survival and education. These included academic progress of the child (school attendance and achievement), health, and emotional and social adjustment. Demographic factors which impact on child outcomes such as the age of the child when the mother leaves, education of mother, geographical area, ethnicity and years the mother is away were considered.

Characteristics of the father, caregiver, and other protective factors, and money management and family communication were considered secondary factors for good outcomes for the child.

4. Research Methods

The study was conducted using a random sample of 1,200 households of mothers who had migrated overseas for employment and had been absent from their families for over six months at the time of study in the two districts with the highest incidences of female migration - Colombo (Colombo and Hanwellla DS divisions) and Kurunegala (Kurunegala and

1 Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment, 2000.

2 Ibid

3 Eelens, Mook and Schampers, 1992, "Introduction" in *Labour Migration to the Middle East - from Sri Lanka to the Gulf*, Eds F Eelens, T. Shampers, and JD Speckmann, 1-25, London: Kegan Paul International.

4 Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2002.

Ridigama DS divisions). The representative study sample comprised 1.5% of the total number of female labour migrants with children in the two districts.

In addition to the household sample, the study included a sample survey of 200 children from each of the two districts (total of 400 children) representing the three main age groups (below 5 years, 6-14 years and 15-17 years). The study also included 200 families in the Colombo district where mothers were working in Sri Lanka (100) and mothers were not working (100). Both groups being in the same socio-economic background as that of migrant mothers.

A special feature of the study was the participation of children as researchers, some of them with mothers abroad.

5. The Legal and Policy Framework

Sri Lanka has signed a number of treaty-based conventions that impose proactive obligations in ensuring the welfare of children of migrants. Yet, the study found specific gaps in this regard.

Sri Lanka ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1991. The CRC affirms acting upon the best interest of the child (Article 3), the duty of the state to provide assistance to parents (Articles 18, 27 and 23), the duty of the state to prevent maltreatment and abuse (Article 19), and the securing of benefits in regard to social insurance and social security taking into account the resources and circumstances of the child (Article 26). It also affirms a child's right to education (Article 28), rights of disabled children (Article 23), and a child's right to be free from sexual exploitation and abuse (Article 34).

The National Plan of Action for Children 2004-2008 was designed to help achieve the ideals of the CRC. The plan included the ensuring of adequate care as well as a safe and healthy environment for Sri Lankan children of migrant mothers consistent with their evolving capacities. It identified compulsory registration at the Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment district-level centres for all migrant women as a strategy.

Sri Lanka has also acceded to the International Convention on Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families which compels the State to pay due regard not only to labour needs and resources, but also to the social, economic, cultural, and other needs of migrant workers and members of their families involved, as well as to the consequences of such migration for the communities concerned.

Yet, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child functioning under the CRC has expressed continuous dissatisfaction regarding the general lack of coordination on the part of state agencies entrusted with childcare.⁵ More specifically, the Committee has pointed out that families of migrant workers "receive little or no assistance with their child rearing responsibilities while working abroad." It has also recommended that Sri Lanka develop a comprehensive policy to support the families and caregivers of such children and has stated that the institutionalization of such children should be as a last resort⁶.

6. The Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment

The Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment (SLBFE) is the State agency invested with the authority to regulate foreign employment. A serious problem in the SLBFE Act is its emphasis on the promotion of migration as a means of income generation for the State and for Sri Lankans themselves. While the SLBFE Act recognises, in principle, the need to look after the welfare of the families of Sri Lankans employed outside the country, the responsibility in that regard is not specifically vested in the State but depends on "donations and contributions" from outside⁷. Consequently, this responsibility is not adequately reflected in government practices and policies. A good contrast to Sri Lanka's SLBFE Act is provided by the Migrant

5 See CRC/C/SR.889, Concluding Observations of the Committee, adopted on 6 June 2003

6 *ibid*, see Concluding Observation No (5)

7 Section 15(q), objectives of the SLBFE

Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 which specifically states its goal to establish higher standards of protection and promotion of the welfare of Filipino workers and their families. Interestingly, while recognising the significant contribution of migrant workers to the national economy, it declares that the State does not promote overseas employment as a means to sustain economic growth and achieve national development.

7. Childcare Structures

Childcare structures including the Department of Probation and Child Care at national and provincial levels (with legal and social responsibilities for children at risk), the National Child Protection Authority (with a policy role), exist to support children. The NCPA is now under the Ministry, significantly reducing its former independence under the Presidential Secretariat. Probation Officers and Child Right Promotion Officers are key government officials invested with the responsibility of childcare. The new structure of the District Development Committee bringing together the District Child Rights Monitoring Committee, District Child Protection Committee (NCPA's district branches), and District Early Childhood Development and Care Committee are a hopeful sign for better coordination of childcare work with this Committee comprising many child care related officers from various government agencies⁸.

It is also noteworthy that the new Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment has mandates both for women and children and are ideally placed to work on policy linkages between the two.

8. Profiles of Migrants, Children, Caregivers

Out of the sample of 1,200 households, 82.8% were in the economically and sexually active age group of 21-40 years indicating again the possibility of children being younger in age. Migrant mothers had relatively low levels of education compared to the national average. Around 7.5% had no education, almost a fourth (22.2%) had a primary education, and over a third (42.4%) had a secondary education without proceeding to GCE Ordinary Level.

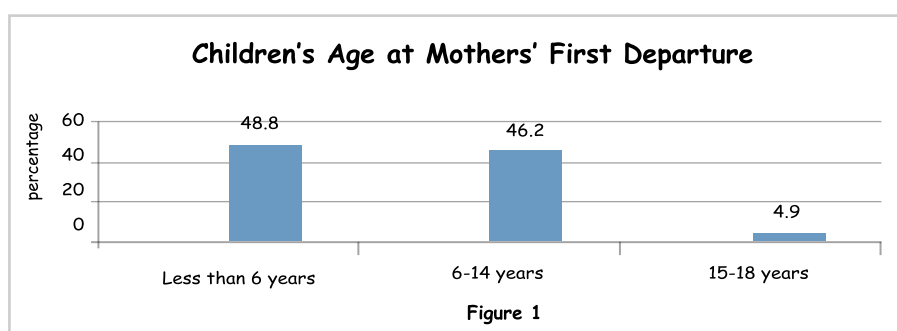
Many migrants had already stayed longer than the minimum period stipulated in the labour contract (i.e. two years) indicating the long-term nature of the mothers' absence in at least half the sampled households.

At the time of the mother's departure, nearly half of the children (48.8%) were less than six years of age. Nearly a third of children in this age group (30.5%) were less than three years of age. This is a critically formative stage of development

when adequate physical and emotional nurturance is essential for the future growth of the child. This is also an age when most would not have been able to comprehend what was happening, and if they did, were probably unable to cope with the event.

"After my mother migrated, my grandmother looks after me very well. She sends me to school and is very attentive about me". (11 year old girl)

Only 25.9% of primary caregivers (PCGs) were fathers. Most PCGs were close relatives of the children with nearly three fourths being female, the majority of them grandmothers.



⁸ Cabinet circular MSS/3/4/161 of 14th June 2006.

This reflects the culturally defined division of labour between the two sexes. This also raises several implications considering that, in South Asia, women are socially and culturally disadvantaged to begin with and more so if they are rural and belong to economically marginalized groups, all of which are characteristics of the sampled female caregivers.

The sample had slightly lower proportions of Sinhalese and Tamils and a somewhat higher proportion of Muslims compared to national proportions, due perhaps to the specific targeting of Muslim populations by employment agencies with links in the Islamic Middle-East.

Most caregivers had relatively low levels of education with 39.8% having a secondary education without O/Levels and 30.9% having a primary education; 7.9% did not have any education at all while 17% had passed the GCE O-level and 3.9%, the GCE A-level. The educational levels of PCGs were lower than the migrant mothers of whom more than 70% had gone beyond primary education, and more while only around 61% of caregivers had attained a similar level of education.

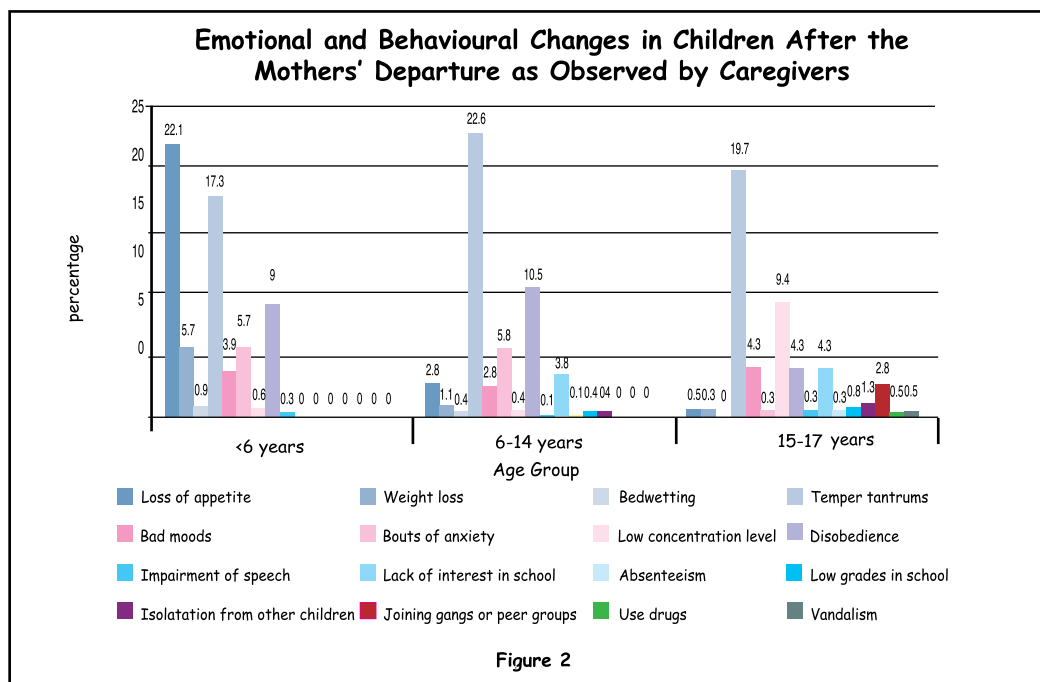
9. Households and Expenditure

About half the families lived in semi permanent or temporary houses and had one or two rooms which demonstrates the background of relative poverty that migrants come from.

The average monthly income of a household was Rs 17,376 with 59.3% earning between Rs. 10,000 and 20,000. Expenditure exceeded earnings on average by Rs 9,000. Plans to use the remittances for various priorities (such as constructing a house, purchasing land, paying loans, educating children) were only realized by 15% of the respondents. These trends indicate that despite some plans, families spend more on consumer goods than on investments for the future.

10. Wellbeing of Children

According to Vijitha Fernando⁹ "migration involves a domestic upheaval which most husbands and children cannot cope with." Emotionally and behaviorally, the absence of the mother on foreign employment is then bound to have an effect on children.



9 Vijitha Fernando, 1989, "The Physical, Psychological, and Social Impact on Children of Women Leaving the Country for Work as 'Housemaids' in Foreign Countries for Extended Periods", in *The Migrant Housemaid*, special issue of *Lagos: Journal of the Centre for Religion and Society*, Vol 28, No 2.

Caregivers observed certain negative behaviour in children¹⁰ after the departure of the mother although not in a majority; 22.1% of children under the age of 5 showed loss of appetite and 5% in the same age group showed weight loss. On average, around 20% of children in all ages showed increased temper tantrums after the departure of the mother. Temper tantrums were higher in the adolescent age groups, a naturally "rebellious" phase where stubbornness and disobedience is already strong. Around 10% of older children (15-18 years) showed lower concentration levels.

A high level of positive interaction was evidenced between the PCGs and the children resulting in considerable emotional support extended towards the latter; 96% of the children (6 -17 years) affirmed that they are close to their caregiver.

However, the study findings indicate that the love, attention and proximity of the mother were not replaced by even the best caregivers in the estimation of the children, with 77% of the children indicating that they felt lonely due to the absence of the mother. A majority of children in the older (6-17 years) age group indicated that they felt lonely or sad despite acknowledging a close and appreciative relationship with the caregiver.

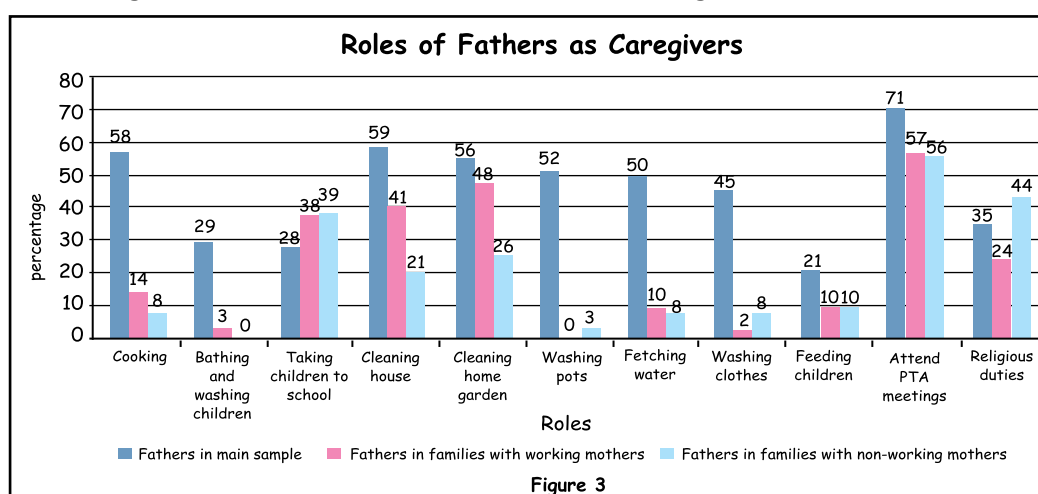
On the positive side, the study found that the migration of mothers strengthened the roles of extended families (around 75% were extended families) with new members moving into the family in 17% of cases. However, over half of the PCGs stated that they had difficulties in relation to their tasks such as dealing with health issues of children, financial problems and problems with difficult children, caregivers' own health problems and heavy workload.

11. Fathers

*"Father doesn't allow us to feel the absence of our mother. He tries to attend to our chores as much as he can. But when we remember our mother, we feel very sad".
(15-year old boy)*

Husbands are often the key to a successful migrant experience¹¹. Child outcome cannot be investigated without studying the response of husbands to migration¹². When the men are employed and comfortable with the role reversal of wives being the major breadwinner and themselves playing caregiver roles for their children, the goals for overseas work can be achieved without huge social costs to children.

An important finding of the research was that fathers in the main sample had assumed new roles involving domestic and childcare activities and had higher comfort levels with these



10 Behaviour changes were assessed through subjective responses to specific questions, and did not involve rating scales.

11 Herath, K, Manager, 2003. Research Division, Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment, Colombo. Personal Communication.

12 Yapa, LK, 2003. Project Officer, International Organization for Migration and Past Deputy General Manager, Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment. Personal Communication.

roles than fathers in families where mothers were in Sri Lanka. It can be inferred from these responses that female migration has led to greater flexibility in the role of the father and that ingrained notions of gendered responsibilities in the household may be seeing certain kinds of transformations in the context of the migration of females within families. This indicates that some of the negative effects of the long-term absence of the mother could be counteracted by role changes in the father.

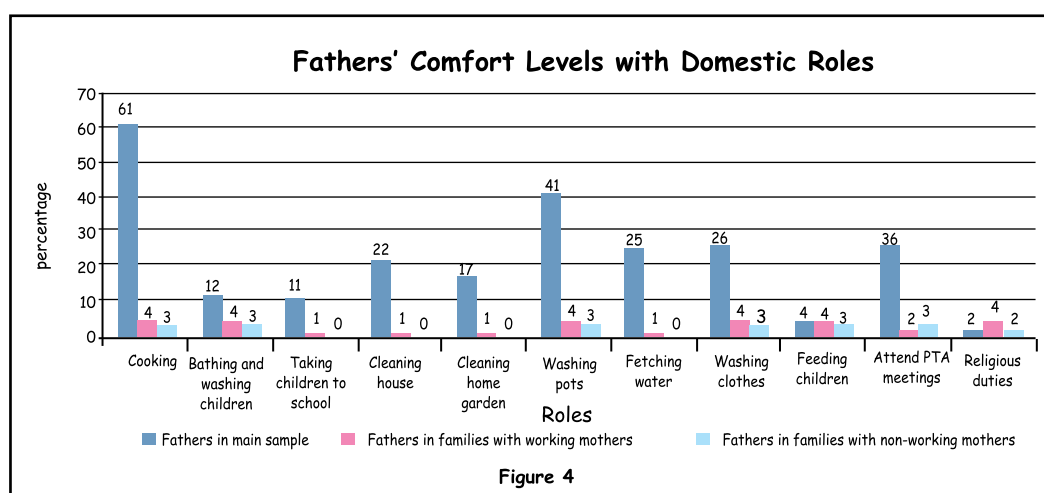


Figure 4

The educational levels of fathers were slightly lower than that of the migrating mothers with 39.7% having secondary school without O/levels (compared to 42.2% of mothers), 18% having O/levels (compared to 23.6% of mothers), with A-level achievement being the same in both groups. Fathers of migrant mothers' families also spent less time on educational related activities, such as reading with children, than fathers in families where the mother was in Sri Lanka. One critical reason for this difference could be that fathers in the main sample spent more time doing other household and child rearing activities than fathers in the two control groups. Children's views of role changes in fathers were generally positive.

Fathers in families of migrant mothers felt more stress in their lives than fathers in other groups. A higher percentage of husbands of migrant mothers admitted to drinking than fathers from the two control groups. Daily and weekly alcohol intake was clearly higher for fathers in families of migrant mothers. Similarly, the highest proportions of fathers using drugs was in the main sample. Most fathers in the main sample stated they would undertake domestic roles for no more than five years suggesting that they see the new role change as temporary.

12. Child Abuse

"I am afraid always as my father goes for work and comes very late in the night. My grandmother is old and disabled. An elderly boy is trying to harass me. I have no sense of protection" (13-year-old girl)

Child abuse in Sri Lanka is acknowledged to be an increasingly serious problem¹³. With mothers absent from the family, children are seen to be more exposed to abuse without the traditional domestic roles played by the female parent. While rates of child abuse were not high, some reported cases emerged out of the sampled households. One instance of abuse of a girl child by a close relative (father's brother) and two instances where the girl children complained that they were in imminent threat of being raped or sexually abused either by a father or other relative were present in the study sample.

The study sample did not indicate high levels of violence by fathers against children, dislodging the negative perception of fathers as fundamentally abusive in the absence of the mother.

¹³ The Women and Children's Bureau of the Police Department records 2,242 cases of grave offences reported against children and 1,026 minor incidents during 2004. This signifies an increase from 1,579 such reported cases in 2002.

Levels of corporal punishment were similar in migrant and non-migrant households (around 13%). However, it is worth noting that two cases of early marriages of children due to breakdown of their family lives, five cases of sexual abuse of children (perpetrator unknown), one case of resultant attempted suicide and three cases of potential suicides due to sexual abuse were reported to research assistants from migrant mothers' families outside the study sample due to the researchers' close interaction with communities.

A strong call for a child protection service at the community level has emerged from this study, one specific focus of which could be sexually abused children.

13. Protection of Children with Mental and Physical Disabilities

Children with disability who may already face marginalization in society and in families, are likely to be further affected and marginalized in the absence of a parent. On one hand, disability could be a reason why mothers migrate to meet high expenditure due to the disability of the child, or even escape stigma. On the other hand, the absence can make the condition worse, or lead to the children being institutionalized due to further neglect. The further neglect of these children was also mentioned by a community doctor in focus group discussions. The research sample included five children with mental or physical disabilities. In one particularly poignant example, a mother had migrated leaving all three disabled children in the hands of the father. Children with disability were often neglected, with low hygiene levels and many did not attend school.

14. Other Protective Factors

Gender, ethnicity, and the rural urban divide all had a role in children's wellbeing with female children feeling they were more protected, and minority ethnic groups generally demonstrating higher extended family ties. Rural children did better in school, but felt more sad and lonely. Urban children, who came from very low income congested communities, generally performed less well in school, but showed more "independent" personalities.

More children living with older caregivers experienced emotional needs and inability to communicate with them. Children felt sad or unable to communicate with PCGs who were over 60 years of age. Absence of physical punishment at home had a positive impact on children since fewer children had emotional or behavioural problems such as loss of appetite, temper tantrums and bouts of anxiety if they lived with PCGs who did not use physical punishment.

Non-use or infrequent use of liquor by the father had a positive impact on children as fewer numbers experienced feelings such as sadness or loneliness and more children in this group were able to perform better at school examinations.

Children found a high sense of support from peer groups and communities.

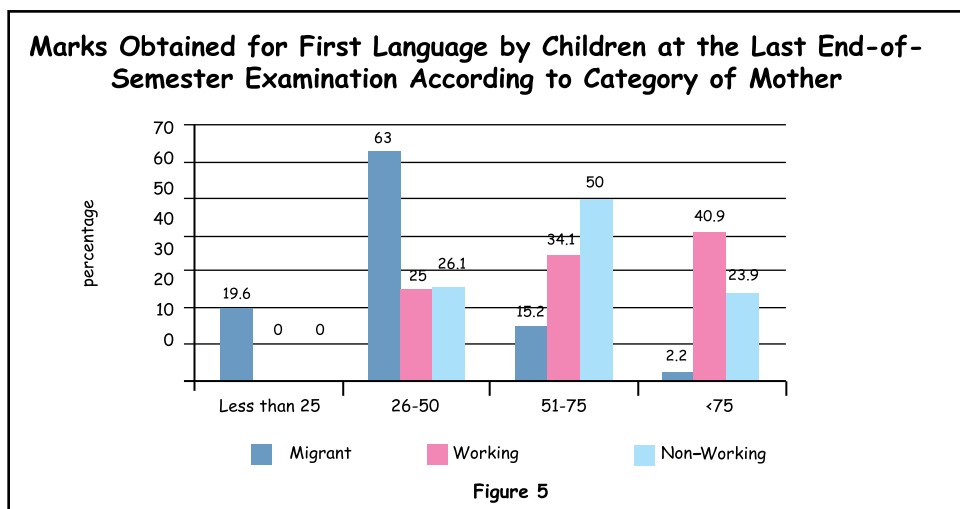
15. Education

"No one is interested in our school work as our mother was when she was here" (10-year-old girl)

Women often migrate for work abroad to be able to provide their children with a better future. Yet, education and future social and economic mobility of children are critically affected in the absence of an adequate caring and educationally supportive home environment for children. The fact that caregivers had slightly lower education levels than migrating mothers, together with the fact that most caregivers are senior citizens would clearly have had an impact on education performance.

A comparative analysis was conducted of school attendance and performance of 50 children each (150 in all) from three groups comprising children of migrant mothers, children with mothers working in Sri Lanka, and children of non-working mothers all from the same socio-economic background. Educational performance was assessed through an assessment of

subject scores at end of last semester examinations in the three subjects regarded as critically important for purposes of measuring achievement: namely the Mother tongue, Mathematics and English. School attendance was assessed through school registers for the last semester.



Educational performance of children left behind by migrating mothers was clearly lower than that of the two control groups; The highest proportion of children obtaining the lowest scores in all three subjects were children of migrant mothers and the highest proportion of children obtaining the highest bracket of scores (over 75) were children of working mothers. A clear pattern was seen for subject scores with the “middling” scores being obtained by children of non-working mothers. The trends for Mother Tongue and English were somewhat similar to the trends in the Mathematics score graph above.

While the absence of the mother was not the only reason for poor attendance and performance, this clearly had an impact on education when compared to the other two groups of children who were also from the same socio-economic background of poverty. The phenomenon of children of working mothers performing the best could be due to higher literacy levels in the family, and higher motivation for studies, a factor worth further investigation.

Girls performed significantly better than boys in all three subjects. The highest percentage of attendance at schools was by children of working mothers, followed closely by those of non-working mothers and then those of migrants.

16. Teachers and School

School provides a protective space for children without adequate parental care. Children placed a high faith in peers, and teachers were often seen as “surrogate mothers” by children of migrant mothers indicating how they could be part of a protective mechanism for these children. These mechanisms could be established through creating links with teachers and families such as through PTAs and through extra educational support in the classroom to children at risk.

17. Fathers and Education

A higher proportion of fathers in families of migrant mothers (71%) participated in PTA meetings compared to those from families of working mothers and non-working mothers (57.1% and 56.4% respectively) even though not much attention was given to children’s educational activities in the home by fathers.

18. Access to Public Services

An overwhelming majority of respondents (97.3%) stated that they had not received any assistance from any agency. When asked as to why external agencies were not helpful,

nearly half (49.6%) attributed this to their socially marginalized positions. Other reasons given included the weakness of government agencies and the poor outreach of social welfare agencies, particularly to highly disadvantaged, remote areas such as those in the sample, from where the highest frequencies of migration occur.

Equally, only 7.3% of respondents asserted that they knew of any organization in the village that could help them to take care of children. Of the minority who acknowledged service organizations, most were community level non-governmental organizations.

19. Best Practices

Government agencies engaging in pro-active programmes and research on social problems and issues were rare. However, the research highlights initiatives taken by the North-Western province Department of Probation and Childcare where the commissioner has established village-level committees to address needs arising from migration and attempted to bring in all stakeholders to expand this experience in the province.

Best practices of governmental agencies includes some initiatives taken by the SLBFE including a training programme for women going abroad to work as housemaids for the first time and who are registered with them. The SLBFE has a cadre of welfare officers (Human Resource Development Assistants) who visit schools to identify and find solutions for problems of children of migrant mothers.

NGOs also provide examples of best practices. The Women's Development Foundation (WDF) of Kurunegala is a regional NGO. One of the programmes implemented by the WDF in the Kurunegala district deals with issues created by mother migration for employment abroad and appreciates the role played by the father in child-rearing in the absence of the mother on employment abroad.

Other best practices are provided by community organisations such as temple or mosque societies and funeral aid societies. From an intimately personal perspective, extended kin relationships, positive behaviour patterns on the part of fathers in families where the mother has migrated and the ready assistance received from neighbours are all positive aspects of family and community life that could be strengthened through familial and social mobilization programmes.

20. Recommendations

1. Policy proposals should foster an empowering and supportive environment for families of migrant mothers and address the needs and concerns of their children. It is strongly recommended that the following policy changes are given serious consideration:
 - a) The Sri Lanka Foreign Employment Bureau (SLBFE)'s committees within divisional secretariats should ensure that families are supported with programmes *prior* to the decision to migrate so they have a clear understanding of childcare support that needs to be in place. If the decision is made to migrate, the SLBFE and the Department of Probation and Childcare (DPCC) authorities should ensure childcare plans are in place at the point of registration. There should be periodic follow-up on these plans.
 - b) Since many families do not register in the first instance, the SLBFE should continue to encourage registration via awareness and incentives as well as reach out to the families of those mothers who have left but not registered.
 - c) The DPCC should initiate programmes that support primary caregivers to address the emotional, intellectual and other needs of children left under their care as well as to ensure the caregivers' own wellbeing. Given that women formed a majority of caregivers, and given the social and cultural disadvantages of women in South Asia which are increased if they are rural and if they belong to economically marginalized groups (all characteristics of the sampled female caregivers), this category deserves

special attention. The important role that fathers play in the absence of the mother should also be acknowledged and supported.

- d) The SLBFE should also support families of migrant workers in the effective management of overseas remittances with a particular focus on addressing needs of children.
 - e) The Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment (MCDWE) should develop an action plan to increase effective coordination between relevant national and provincial level agencies in working on issues of children with migrant parents, and other children at risk.
 - f) The Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment should have sufficient financial resources to implement its strategies.
 - g) The Provincial Departments of Probation and Childcare, with the support of divisional secretariat offices and the District Child Development Committees, should take the lead in initiating locally relevant childcare support mechanisms such as drop-in/daycare centres and ensure better use of existing community-level networks. Special support schemes on early childhood development should be set up for children under six years of age.
2. The Ministry of Justice, along with the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment should take the lead in developing constitutional provisions leading to legislative reforms on children's rights which would facilitate legal action on violation of child rights.
 3. The SLBFE Act, No.21 of 1985 should be amended to specifically vest the duty of the protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers and their families in the state and state agencies.¹⁴
 4. The Ministry of Education should take the lead in ensuring that schools, principals and teachers set, observe and monitor standards on educational performance and behaviour issues of children of migrant mothers and other children at risk, and provide extra instruction time where necessary. Children's peer groups should also be supported in schools.
 5. Institutionalisation of children, including those left behind by migrant mothers, should only be as a last resort. Probation officers, child rights promotion officers and other responsible parties should be strongly encouraged to investigate a full range of alternatives prior to institutionalization, and should be held accountable for the decisions made thereafter.
 6. Future research on migration should specifically focus on the most vulnerable children of migrant mothers; namely children at risk of abuse, children with disability and children of minority/urban slum communities. The circumstances of the girl child should receive special attention. Further research could also benefit from inquiry into the impact of fathers' migration on children.
 7. Good practices of the SLBFE, Provincial Departments of Probation and Childcare, non-governmental organizations and others should be documented and replicated throughout the country.

14 Article 64 (2) of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (to which Sri Lanka acceded to in 1996) enjoins the State to pay due regard not only to labour needs and resources, but also to the social, economic, cultural and other needs of migrant workers and members of their families involved, as well as to the consequences of such migration for the communities concerned.

LEFT BEHIND, LEFT OUT

The Impact on Children and Families of Mothers Migrating for Work Abroad

Left Behind, Left Out: The Impact on Children and Families of Mothers Migrating for Work Abroad is a research study that recognizes the potential impact on children of the absence of around 600,000 Sri Lankan women abroad, a majority of them married with children. The study investigates the phenomenon of large scale female migration and its implications for children's right to a secure family environment, to a quality education, to sound development and right to contact with mothers.

Children and families left behind by migrant women are "Left Out" by an entire system that has yet to adequately and fully recognize and appreciate the considerable contribution to national income made by these women. Structures and mechanisms to oversee the emotional, psychological, and social impact on children and families of the long-term absence of the maternal figure are not in place, and when they are present, they are extremely weak, as amply brought out in the research findings. Of particular note here is the clear negative impact that migration of women has on the education of children and the greater potential for neglect.

Save the Children reiterates women's right to choice of employment, and in no way sees childrearing as the sole responsibility of these women. In fact, the research focuses on fathers and other family members as caregivers, and investigates issues around it.

The research was conducted by Integrated Development Consultants (Pvt) Ltd. on behalf of Save the Children during 2005. The process was highly collaborative involving stakeholders in government, UN agencies and children at all levels.

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